

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 096480

FOL REPEAT USUN 1556 ACTION SECSTATE INFO JAKARTA MANILA 14 APR.

QUOTE

S E C R E T USUN 1556

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL AND UNDERSECRETARY MAW

OSD- DEPUTY SECRETARY ELLSWORTH

JCS - FOR GENERAL BROWN

FROM LOS DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLOS

SUBJECT: LOS: ARCHIPELAGOS

REF: (A) MANILA 3408 (B) MANILA 3464 (C) JAKARTA 3222

1. SUMMARY: INDONESIAN MARSHAL SUDHARMONO (HEAD OF DEL) SUGGESTS U.S. MAKE PLIITICAL APPROACH TO PHILIPPINES ON ARCHIPELAGOS NEXT WEEK BOTH HERE AND, IMPLICITLY, DIRECTLY TO PRES. MARCOS. REQUEST GUIDANCE.

2. USDEL VICE-CHAIRMAN OXMAN AND RADM. MORRIS HAD USEFUL SECRET

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AND FRIENDLY MEETING WITH SUDHARMONO MARCH 15 IN LIGHT OF

HIS IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE FOR JAKARTA. SUDHARMONO WILL RETURN FOLLOWING WEEK, MUCH SOONER THAN HE HAD ORIGINALLY PLANNED. EARLY RETURN PROBABLY DUE TO CONFERENCE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO AIM FOR FIRST REVISION OF SINGLE NEGOTIATING TEXT WITHIN FOUR WEEKS.

3. SUDHARMONO AGREED THAT REMAINING ISSUES BETWEEN U.S. AND INDONESIA ON ARCHIPELAGOS REQUIRED POLITICAL, NOT TECHNICAL DECISION, AND HE SEEMED RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC. HE ALLUDED TO OVERFLIGHT AS ONE PROBLEM, BUT DID NOT ARGUE WITH OUR FIRM RESPONSE. HE AGREED THAT U.S. AND INDONESIA DELS SHOULD PROCEED TO WORK OUT PROBLEMS UPON HIS RETURN (WHILE AVOIDING OVERT SUGGESTION WE SHOULD AVOID MOCHTAR), AND THAT COMMITTEE II CHAIRMAN SHOULD AVOID PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF ISSUE BEFORE MATTER WORKED OUT.

4. WHEN WE NOTED THAT STRAITS MIGHT COME UP AS EARLY AS THIS WEEK, SUDHARMONO SAID THAT GROUP OF STRAITS STATES WAS NOW SPLIT ON ISSUE. WE NOTED THAT THIS MEANT GOI NEED NOT EXPOSE ITSELF. SINCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOULD DO LITTLE MORE THAN ASK FOR OBJECTIONS (AMENDMENTS) TO EXISTING TEXT, INDONESIA COULD AVOID PROBLEM BY STAYING SILENT, WE EXPLAINED AT LENGTH HOW EXISTING TEXT FITS INTO PLANS FOR SAFETY MEASURES IN MALACCA STRAITS, AND OFFERED AGAIN TO HELP THE THREE STRAITS STATES WITH A SUBMISSION TO IMCO.

5. SUDHARMONO THEN SAID MAIN PROBLEM IS THE PHILIPPINES. HE SAID THAT THEIR HARD-LINE POSITION ON HISTORIC WATERS WITH INNOCENT PASSAGE IS UNREALISTIC, BUT THEY DO NOT SEEM TO REALIZE IT. THEY SEEM UNABLE TO ACT WITHOUT A DECISION FROM PRES. MARCOS. INDONESIA EXPECTS FINAL RESPONSE FROM PHILIPPINE REP. SANTOS IN NEW YORK BY FRIDAY, AND IF THERE IS NO INCREASED FLEXIBILITY, THE ARCHIPELAGO GROUP WILL PROBABLY ABANDON THE PHILIPPINES. SUDHARMONO, AFTER AGREEING THAT IN PAST HE HAS ASKED US TO AVOID TOO MUCH DETAIL WITH PHILIPPINES, SUGGESTED WE CONTACT PHILIPPINES "NOT THIS WEEK, BUT NEXT WEEK."

5. US DEL WILL CONTACT PHILIPPINE REP. SANTOS NEXT WEEK. HOWEVER, IN VIEW CLEAR HINT THAT ONLY PRES. MARCOS CAN
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MAKE DECISION TO BE FLEXIBLE, USDEL WILL PREPARE PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH MARCOS THAT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SUDHARMONO'S COMMENTS ON NATURE OF PROBLEM. IF DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZES APPROACH TO MARCOS, WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT AMB. NEWSOME ATTEMPT TO GET READING FROM SUDHARMONO, AND CONFIRM THAT WE WILL APPROACH GOP. WHILE WE FIND IT CURIOUS THAT SUDHARMONO EMPHASIZED THAT WE SHOULD NOT APPROACH GOP UNTIL AFTER INDONESIA'S FRIDAY DEADLINE, WE SUSPECT GOI

ANTICIPATES NEGATIVE GOP RESPONSE, AND THAT SUDHARMONO
SEES U.S. APPROACH AS LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO BRING PHILIP-
PINES ALONG WHICH, IF SUCCESSFUL, WILL ELIMINATE REMAINING
OPPOSITION IN JAKARTA TO MAKING OVERT SPLIT WITH THE PHILIP-
PINES. SUDHARMONO PROBABLY REALIZES THAT SINGLE NEGOTIATING
TEXT AS IT STANDS IS BASICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO USG, AND THAT
IF THERE ARE NO AMENDMENTS TO USG, AND THAT IF THERE ARE NO
AMENDMENTS FROM THE CHAIR IN THE FIRST REVISION, IT WILL BE
MORE DIFFICULT TO GET CHANGES LATER. SCRANTON

UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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